

UNDERSTANDING HUMAN TRAFFICKING IN THE UNITED STATES

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The topic of modern-day slavery or human trafficking has received increased media and national attention. However, to date there has been limited research on the nature and scope of human trafficking in the United States. This article describes and synthesizes nine reports that assess the U.S. service organizations' legal representative knowledge of, and experience with, human trafficking cases, as well as information from actual cases and media reports. This article has five main goals: (a) to define what human trafficking is, and is not; (b) to describe factors identified as contributing to vulnerability to being trafficked and keeping a person entrapped in the situation; (c) to examine how the crime of human trafficking differs from other kinds of crimes in the United States; (d) to explore how human trafficking victims are identified; and, (e) to provide recommendations to better address human trafficking in the United States.

Key words: *modern day slavery; human trafficking*

SAMIRAH AND ENUNG were recruited from their home in Indonesia by a wealthy family to work in America. Both women signed a contract stating they would be paid US\$100-US\$200 a month to work in a home taking care of a family. But, when they arrived their passports and travel documents were confiscated and they were made to work close to 21 hr a day, to sleep on small mats in the kitchen of the large home, and were given very little to eat. They were threatened, physically assaulted, and rarely allowed out of the house. They were

also subjected to what can only be called torture for such transgressions as stealing food because they were often hungry. For example, throughout their time with the family they were forced to run up and down stairs until exhausted, beaten with broom handles and rolling pins, cut with knives, and forced to stand while being scalded with boiling hot water. And for all this, they were not directly paid although some money was sent back to their families in their home country. Even though the two women, both aged close to 50

years, had been in America for 5 years working for this family, they only knew a few English words. Further, on at least one occasion a witness saw Samirah crawling up the basement stairs bleeding from the forehead and Samirah and Enung both told the witness that Samirah had been beaten by the home owner. On another occasion a landscaper at the home was confronted by Enung who was raggedly dressed and very hungry pleading with him for his doughnuts. Even so, it wasn't until one of the women ran away to get help that their situation was discovered by authorities (Eltman, 2007; Vitello, 2007; Warner, 2007).

This account of human trafficking is one of many that are becoming more frequently reported in the media in the United States. There are similarities across the reported cases which often include little or no pay for menial and difficult work, debt bondage, confiscated documents such as passports, undocumented immigrant status, long and grueling work hours, as well as threats of harm, physical assault, and emotional abuse. Each of these elements represents an antithesis of fundamental human dignity and basic citizen and human rights; however, there seems to be less governmental and policy concern about human trafficking than there is about international terrorism or the legality of immigration. Although there is increasing media and policy attention to this issue, it is still a crime that receives relatively little public outrage—almost rising to the level of national denial—as if slavery, which is the essence of human trafficking, could not possibly exist in this democracy. However, the evidence contradicts this impression. Human trafficking does exist in the United States.

This article will address what is known about human trafficking in the United States by examining several studies done with experts or people who have worked on human trafficking cases in the United States, human trafficking–victim interviews, media reports, and other documents including books, reports, and papers that provide knowledge about human trafficking in the United States. This article has five main goals: (a) to define what human trafficking is, and is not; (b) to describe factors identified as contributing to vulnerability

to being trafficked and keeping a person entrapped in the situation; (c) to examine how the crime of human trafficking differs from other kinds of crimes in the United States; (d) to explore how human trafficking victims are identified; and, (e) to provide recommendations to better address human trafficking in the United States.

Human trafficking, at its most basic level, is defined by the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000 as (a) the recruitment, harboring, transporting, supplying, or obtaining a person for labor or services through the use of force, fraud, or coercion for the purpose of involuntary servitude or slavery; or (b) sex trafficking in which a commercial sex act is induced by force, fraud, or coercion, or in which the person induced to perform sex acts is under 18 years of age. The key elements of the Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) indicate it is illegal to use force, fraud, or coercion to exploit a person for profit or for personal services. The use of coercion can be direct and physically violent, or it can be through psychological means. Although most news accounts of human trafficking focus on the violence endured by the victims of human trafficking, the powerful effects of psychological coercion play a key role in entrapment and continued enslavement (Kim, 2007; Logan, 2007).

Labor exploitation can include forced labor and debt bondage, whereas sexual exploitation includes compulsory sex acts within the commercial sex industry. Although often termed “sex trafficking,” sexual exploitation in private homes by individuals who often demand sex and work (in the home or even outside of the home) is categorized by the law as labor exploitation. Also, although not an explicit component of the U.S. law, internationally the consent of the victim to circumstances characterized by human trafficking is not relevant when threats, coercion, or the use of force have been used to exploit someone.¹

One misconception about *human trafficking* (perhaps related to the term itself) is that people must be transported to meet the definitional threshold of the human trafficking law. However, the current legislation does not require that a person be physically transported across

locations in order for the crime to meet the definition of human trafficking (U.S. Department of State, 2007). Another confusing aspect of *human trafficking* (again probably related to the term itself) is that individuals are always brought into the country, legally or illegally, as part of the trafficking situation. First, it must be recognized that people can be trafficked within their own country. Second, human trafficking is different from human smuggling (The Human Smuggling and Trafficking Center, 2005). Human smuggling is typically done with the consent of the smuggled individual who intends to enter the U.S. by any means. Usually, with human smuggling the relationship between the transporter and the smuggled individual ends once the target destination is reached. In human trafficking, the transportation of an individual may be just the first phase of the crime; the transportation is but a means to the end of obtaining labor. In fact, the better organized human trafficking operations include both components, and will actually use the fee charged for transporting the individual into the United States as a form of debt bondage to entrap people into the trafficking situation. Thus, although human smuggling and human trafficking are conceptualized as legally separate concepts, they often overlap.

Human trafficking is not a new phenomenon. In fact, it is closely related to slavery in various forms throughout history. For example, in imperial Rome, 30% to 40% of the population was made up of slaves trafficked in from Thrace, Gaul, Britain, and Germany (Collingridge, 2006). During this time, wars were often fought merely to procure more slave labor (Cahill, 1995; Goldsworthy, 2006; Rawson, 1993). Furthermore, America is no stranger to slavery. There is a rich history of slavery in America beginning in 1619 with both White and African slaves being imported to Virginia (Davis, 2006; Jordan & Walsh, 2007) and culminating in a law to abolish importation of African slaves (1807), a civil war because of slavery (1860-1865), and laws that finally intended the abolition of slavery itself (1863). However, just as it took numerous laws and even several constitutional amendments and Supreme Court decisions to eradicate

race-based slavery, other more insidious forms of slavery developed and have flourished even in recent times. For example, Douglas Blackmon (2008) detailed how, for decades after the official abolition of American slavery, thousands of African Americans were sold or forced into labor to pay debts that were incurred due to trumped-up charges through the criminal justice system. This form of slavery very much resembles the stories of human trafficking today. These slaves were cheap labor for the land owners; they labored without, or for minimal, compensation, were repeatedly bought and sold, and were forced through physical assault and bondage to work.

Similar to the Blackmon analysis of slavery before and after the official abolition, Bales (2000) argues that the old slavery system was one in which, although slaves were treated harshly, slaves were expensive, thought of as valuable property, and there was a strong incentive to keep slaves alive and relatively healthy to ensure the slaveholder's investment. However, in today's slavery context, Bales argued that slaves have very low value, they are cheap, and are only worth what they bring in terms of immediate profit to the owners rather than being valuable themselves as property and that they are essentially a disposable commodity. It is suggested that this kind of exploitation is particularly attractive to small and large organized crime rings, and there is speculation that human trafficking is the third largest profitable trafficking activity after drug and gun trafficking (Hyland, 2001).

Trafficking in humans is profitable for several reasons. First, traffickers gain from fees charged to the trafficked victim as well as from the profits from the victims' labor. Traffickers maximize their profits by keeping their costs low. Costs are minimized by not paying victims or by paying them very little, housing victims in unsanitary and crowded living conditions, and making the victims work for many hours (Neville & Martinez, 2004). Also, victims can be used over and over again and basically become disposable when their use is no longer producing value. As an example of this is illustrated in Bales' (1999) work:

On more than ten occasions I woke early in the morning to find the corpse of a young girl floating in the water by the barge. Nobody bothered to bury the girls. They just threw their bodies in the river to be eaten by the fish. (p. 4)

In another report (Family Violence Prevention Fund, 2005), one victim was quoted as saying,

I was sick so many times. And when you're sick, you know what they tell you? They go, "You can die if you want to." They tell you that straight up. They just let you stay there and be sick and suffer." (p. 19)

In addition, the lack of identification, prosecution, and sentencing of perpetrators for trafficking in humans make this kind of crime particularly profitable and low risk for the trafficker. In other words, until recently there has been limited prosecution or attention paid to this particular crime, and penalties for those engaged in human trafficking were trivial (Bales, 2000, 2005; Hyland, 2001). Also, murder investigations are less pursuable when the victims are unknown, lack identity, lack concerned relatives, and lack even witnesses to their lives, let alone the crimes that lead to their deaths.

Although human trafficking is receiving increased attention in the United States, estimates and details about human trafficking in this country remain elusive. Even globally the estimates of bodies used as slaves are unknown. A recent Trafficking in Persons Report (U.S. Department of State, 2007) indicated the following:

The International Labor Organization . . . estimates there are 12.3 million people in forced labor, bonded labor, forced child labor, and sexual servitude at any given time; other estimates range from 4 million to 27 million Annually, according to U.S. Government-sponsored research completed in 2006, approximately 800,000 people are trafficked across national borders, which does not include millions trafficked within their own countries. (p. 8)

These numbers are general estimates, which means the true scope and nature of human trafficking, both globally and in the United States, remains unknown. There are several problems that contribute to the difficulty of accurately estimating the nature and scope of human trafficking.

It is difficult to estimate the true number of victims because some estimates are based on the number of immigrants (documented and estimates of undocumented immigrants) who enter the United States each year. It is also difficult to estimate how many people are smuggled into the United States due to the nature of the crime. In addition, documented and undocumented immigrants can be trafficked after they have entered the United States. Also, official estimates may underrepresent the true nature of the problem because it is very difficult to know how many marginalized U.S. citizens are trafficked.

Further, many victims are forced to commit criminal acts themselves (e.g., prostitution involvement), are involved in illegal activities such as drug use or using false documents, or are undocumented and afraid to come forward because of their status in the United States. Their own criminal activities or legal status makes it difficult, if not impossible to bring their situations to light. The victims of human trafficking are part of a covert society that is hidden to anyone except those who use trafficked persons. The victims are walled off from society and from their family and they are not on the books for tax or other employment records. In the strict legal sense, they do not exist and since their activities are often illegal, they dare not become visible. Bales (1999) quoted a researcher in Brazil as saying that once a person's documents are confiscated, "the worker is dead as a citizen, and born as a slave" (p. 128).

There are also problems with identification by the U.S. law enforcement personnel who are typically trained to focus on perpetrators of crimes. When the trafficked person is involved in illegal activities such as prostitution or is an undocumented immigrant (being undocumented is actually not a crime, but it is a deportable offense), it may be difficult to define them as victims rather than just as criminals. Thus, law enforcement officials often do not look past the criminal activity to see whether it is part of a larger problem such as human trafficking, leaving some victims of human trafficking identified only as criminals.

In essence then, both the victims and the traffickers collude to keep the crime hidden

and law enforcement do not always look past the obvious criminal activity to see the more complex crime of human trafficking making identification and estimates of the nature and scope very difficult. On the other hand, some critics suggest the estimates that are reported are blown out of proportion due to the faulty assumptions on which the estimates are based (Markon, 2007). Clearly more research is needed to better determine the extent and scope of human trafficking in the United States. Whether or not you believe the estimates are too large or too small it is difficult to ignore the fact that, based on media reports alone, this crime is happening in the United States. This article provides a snapshot of human trafficking in the United States.

METHODS

Review of Studies

In gathering research studies made available in 2007 or earlier on the prevalence and scope of human trafficking, three main criteria had to be met: (a) The study or report focused on an assessment of social service, health, or legal needs of victims and/or it focused on the scope and extent of human trafficking in the United States; (b) The report included a systematic research method such as a telephone or mail survey of professionals, case studies, or interviews with victims to obtain information; and (c) The report focused on multiple sectors of forced labor rather than just one sector. The main goal of this search was to obtain empirical data rather than policy papers or essays about the problem.

To obtain reports on human trafficking that met the empirically focused criteria several activities were initiated. First, key organizations active in addressing human trafficking were contacted to obtain reports on assessing needs for services among human trafficking victims. In addition, an Internet search was conducted using multiple search terms to identify reports on human trafficking in the United States. A library search with a variety of databases was used with multiple search terms (e.g., *human trafficking*; *human trafficking and*

needs assessment; *modern-day slavery*). A national human trafficking listserve was contacted to inquire about other reports. Lastly, the reference section for each report that was obtained was examined for other report citations.

Using all of these methods and criteria yielded very few reports or studies. Four state-specific reports and five reports using information gathered from across the nation were included. Below are the basic methodological descriptions for each of the nine studies that were used for this article, starting with the four state-focused reports and then describing the five nationally focused reports.

- Florida State University Center for the Advancement of Human Rights released their report in 2003. This report primarily compiled information and recommendations from a working group of experts from around the state. However, they also used four in-depth case studies of trafficking cases that were prosecuted in Florida. These case studies were developed through court documents, published media sources, and from interviews with victims and law enforcement officials associated with the various cases.
- Dr. Cache Seitz Steinberg released a report in 2004 on human trafficking in Houston. This report compiled information from a mail survey of 70 service provider, law enforcement, legal services, and government agency representatives (with a 32% response rate). Fifteen (21%) of those agencies reported serving a victim of human trafficking within the past 2 years. This report also included information from an interview with 1 victim of human trafficking, interviews with 11 community experts, and a review of statistics on human trafficking cases from the U.S. Attorney's Office Southern District of Texas.
- Dr. TK Logan released a report in 2007 on human trafficking in Kentucky. This report compiled information from telephone surveys with 140 service provider, law enforcement, and other legal service provider representatives (with an 86% response rate). Almost half (46%) reported experience with a case of human trafficking in Kentucky.
- The California Alliance to Combat Trafficking and Slavery Task Force (CACTSTF) released a report of human trafficking in California in 2007. This report used multiple data sources including an online or mail survey of a 101 service provider and legal services representatives (with an overall response rate of less than 10%). Over half (59%) reported experience with cases of human trafficking. This study also included in-depth interviews with 13 service providers in 3 rural areas of the state.
- Dr. Heather Clawson and colleagues released a report in 2003 using data collected through telephone

interviews from 98 service providers (with a 62% response rate) from across the nation who reported experience working with human trafficking victims. This study also used information from focus groups with service providers and trafficking victims.

- The Free the Slaves organization along with the Human Rights Center at the University of California released a report in 2004 which used telephone surveys with 49 service providers who have worked with human trafficking victims or were experts in human trafficking from across the nation (no response rate reported). This study also used information from 131 forced labor incidents reported in the media and 8 case studies of forced labor from a variety of regions across the United States.
- The Family Violence Prevention Fund released a report in 2005 using information from interviews with 21 survivors of human trafficking from across the nation.
- Dr. Heather Clawson and colleagues released a report in 2006 using information collected from phone surveys of 121 law enforcement representatives (with a 58% response rate) from cities across the nation with known human trafficking activities. The sample was divided by victim-witness coordinators ($n = 7$), line officers ($n = 30$), and state and local investigators ($n = 84$). The majority (68%) reported experience working with human trafficking cases. This study also included in-depth telephone interviews with seven supervisors or managers representing federal, law enforcement, and other key agencies, legal case reviews, as well as an analysis of discussion forums with three antitrafficking task forces.
- D. Wilson and colleagues published a paper in 2006 from the results of a mail survey of 83 law enforcement agency directors (with a 51% response rate) from across the nation regarding their experiences and knowledge of human trafficking. Almost a quarter (23%) of the respondents reported involvement in a human trafficking crime investigation within the last 3 years and 17% had made an arrest related to the crime of human trafficking during this time period.

Other documents were also consulted to provide a more comprehensive picture of human trafficking. These other documents include media reports, papers, reports, and several books on the topic. For example, Batstone (2007) and Skinner (2008) wrote books using journalist interview techniques with victims of human trafficking and people who work with slaves from around the world including the United States. Bales (1999, 2005, 2007) has done some extensive case study research on human trafficking across the world and has used international research on human

trafficking to draw conclusions about the nature and scope of human trafficking.

RESULTS

Human Trafficking Victims in the United States: Where Are They?

Table 1 shows the various sectors of human trafficking in the United States based on information from people who have worked cases, from actual cases, or from the media reports of forced labor. The major types of trafficking sectors mentioned in these reports include the following: sex work (prostitution, commercial sex, 23%-66%), other sex work-related activities (exotic dancing, pornography, entertainment, 3%-30%), domestic labor (7%-45%), personal service (domestic or sexual servitude, servile marriage, 1%-37%), factory labor/sweatshop (5%-33%), restaurant labor (9%-33%), and agricultural or other labor (10%-46%). Other mentioned sectors included begging/trinket selling and the food industry.

The reports underscore some gaps in the current state of knowledge on human trafficking. First, the category termed *personal service* or *servile marriage* is relatively large and is mentioned in 6 of 8 studies (one study did not discuss labor sectors), although, in the Logan (2007) study, when all of the respondents (those with and without direct experience of human trafficking) were asked about what sectors trafficking was likely to emerge, very few mentioned this category. Therefore, although this category is clearly observed by those working with human trafficking victims, it does seem to be overlooked by general service providers. However, it does seem to meet the legal definition under the U.S. law. Specifically, human trafficking is defined as "the recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision or obtaining of a person for labor or services [italics added] through the use of force, fraud, or coercion . . ." This is where there is a common link between domestic violence and human trafficking, or where the line between the two can become blurred. For example, see the cases below as reported by respondents who had experience with human trafficking cases in the Logan (2007) report.

TABLE 1: Human Trafficking Victims in the United States: Where Are They?

Type of Trafficking ^a	CACTSTF (2007)	Clawson, Small, Go, and Myles (2003)	Clawson, Dutch, and Cummings (2006)	Florida State University (2003)	Family Violence Prevention Fund (2004)	Free the Slaves (2004)	Logan (2007)	Seitz Steinberg (2004)
	N = 58	N = 98	N = 82	N = 4	N = 21	N = 131	N = 64	N = 15
Sex work (specific mention of prostitution or sex work)	46%	66%	60%	X	X	46.4%	23.2%	40%
Sex laboring (nonprostitution sectors of sex industry such as stripping)	—	—	28%	—	—	—	—	12%
Pornography	—	27%	—	—	—	—	—	—
Entertainment (Sex tourism/entertainment)	—	30%	8%	—	—	3.1%	—	—
Personal service (domestic or sexual servitude with one person; servile marriage)	—	37%	10%	—	X	0.8%	23.2%	28%
Domestic labor	31%	45%	31%	X	X	27.2%	7.3%	33%
Agricultural or other labor (general, construction, coal mining)	11%	46%	25%	X	—	10.4%	14.5%	12%
Factory/sweatshop labor	5%	19%	—	—	X	4.8%	—	33%
Restaurant/bar labor	—	25%	—	—	X	—	8.7%	33%
Begging/trinket selling	—	4%	—	—	—	—	—	6%
Food service industry	—	5%	—	—	—	3.8%	—	—
Unspecified	7%	—	33%	—	—	—	23.2%	—

NOTE: N = Number of participants; X = mentioned in the report, but percentages were not provided.

a. Those included are respondents who worked with victims, cases mentioned, or actual cases. One report did not discuss labor sectors.

One victim, who was smuggled into U.S., was sold to an immigrant man by the people who loaned her money to come into the U.S. This man basically used her as a sexual slave.

A woman was in the U.S. legally with a temporary visa. She was working for a man and ended up getting involved in a romantic relationship with him. She was working 18 hour days and he was not paying her. He wouldn't let her leave the house except for work. He was also using sexual and domestic violence as a way to keep her intimidated. (p. 45)

A second problem is that the categories where human are trafficked in the United States are incomplete and based on limited research. For example, some cases that have surfaced in the media but were not mentioned in the reports include hotel workers, nail salon workers, landscape and gardening laborers, casino servers, an African children's choir, (e.g., Batstone, 2007), and Chinese acrobats (U.S. Department of Justice, 2007). Furthermore, it is possible that there are other sectors where persons are trafficked, but who have not yet been identified for a variety of reasons. For example, a recent *New York Times* article (Urbina, 2007)

described the magazine crew industry (the magazine subscription peddlers who go door to door in neighborhoods across America) which included many elements that seemed to meet the threshold of the federal human trafficking legislation, although few if any cases from this industry have been prosecuted under this legislation. Specifically, this article described how both teenagers looking to leave home and travel as well as homeless teenagers were recruited to work on a magazine crew. However, once they started the job, some were forced to work 10 to 14 hr a day, 6 days a week peddling subscriptions door to door. The article goes on to describe the work conditions such as how in some cases the lowest seller of the day was required to sleep on the floor and that some days they had less than US\$10 a day for food. Further, the workers were not directly paid, but were told their pay was going to be kept on the books and that all of their living expenses were being deducted from their pay. Also, some of the workers who were interviewed described how they had seen others severely beaten by managers for missing their

sales quota or for talking about wanting to quit the crew in front of others. In another case, some of the men on the crew were forced to fight each other if they missed their sales quota. Several individuals interviewed for this article also talked about how they were afraid to walk away from the job. This example is just one area that trafficking like conditions exist, yet remains hidden in plain sight.

The third issue to note is there has been a focus on sex trafficking for a number of years (Hynes & Raymond, 2002; Raymond et al., 2002; Raymond & Hughes, 2001) and some reports on human trafficking suggest it is the largest category of human trafficking and other studies find other types of labor are larger sectors (Webber & Shirk, 2005). The 2008 Trafficking in Persons report suggested that when trafficking estimates include both those trafficked within a country's borders and across the country's borders, labor trafficking may be larger than sex trafficking (U.S. Department of State, 2008). There is some controversy in the literature about the extent of sex trafficking versus labor trafficking. Some argue that there has been a narrower focus on identification and prosecution of sex trafficking as well as more resources in recent years, which may have resulted in the failure to find victims of other kinds of trafficking (Srikantiah, 2007; Webber & Shirk, 2005). Richard (1999) suggested from a review of several cases of forced labor that non-sex-related forms of trafficking have been in operation longer than trafficking involving the sex industry. However, there are other issues that must be considered when trying to interpret the estimates of what labor sector individuals are likely to be trafficked into.

Although it may be true that more prosecutions have focused on sex-related cases of human trafficking due to greater attention and resources, the intense focus may also be due to more practical reasons. First, sex work requires individuals to interact with the public thus making them more visible than a group of individuals forced to work and live in a closed factory. Even if the larger public doesn't realize that human trafficking is taking place, they may realize and dislike the fact that prostitution is occurring in their neighborhood, which

prompts them to make complaints to law enforcement. Second, sex work is in a way more public than, say, domestic service and thus it is easier for law enforcement to investigate and charge—especially because the women selling sex are considered engaging in illegal activities. Third, there has been a lot more media attention focused on sex work in general, and specifically young women being trafficked into sex work. In summary, what this means is that it is not clear whether or not human trafficking is more likely to occur within the sex work-related or the non-sex work-related areas of forced labor, and more research is needed to properly document forms of human trafficking in the United States and worldwide (Webber & Shirk, 2005).

Fourth, it is critical to understand that even independent of being in the sex trade, women and girls (and sometimes men and boys) are vulnerable to sexual exploitation through forced sexual acts. In other words, there are cases of women in domestic labor, personal service, restaurant, hotel, agricultural, and other segments of the work force where women have been sexually assaulted as part of the trafficking experiences (Batstone, 2007; Richard, 1999). For example, one of the respondents in the Logan (2007) report described a domestic servitude case where the victim was exploited for labor inside and outside of the home as well as sexually exploited, "A young girl was raped and beaten by a man; she lived with the man and his wife and was used for domestic chores inside their home and forced to work cleaning in a hotel as well" (p. 46).

What Makes People Vulnerable to Being Enslaved?

Across all the reports, it is apparent that extreme poverty remains the single most important factor in becoming a target of human trafficking. Poverty among immigrants is an especially prevalent theme. More specifically, though it is true that some U.S. citizens are trafficked in America, the majority—at least based on the best information we have to date—are immigrants (Bales, 1999, 2005; Clawson, Small,

& Myles, 2003; Logan, 2007). In fact, out of the nine reports included for analysis, all nine linked human trafficking with immigrants, and several of them specifically associated human trafficking with undocumented immigrants. For example, one report indicated 75% of the agency representatives they spoke with reported the victims they worked with were undocumented immigrants (Clawson et al., 2003).

The poverty that the immigrants experience in their countries of origin threatens even basic survival, thus making them vulnerable to any promises of livelihood. However, Bales (2005) argued that it is more complex than poverty alone, in part, because not all impoverished people become trafficking victims. First, he argues that vulnerability to trafficking must be viewed within a local cultural context. Second, he argues that vulnerability to trafficking is increased due to a mix of poverty (indexed by population density, infant mortality rate, the number of children younger than 14, and level of the country's food production), level of civil unrest and violence, cultural acceptance of trafficking, and corruption in local governments (Bales, 2005). Bales especially focuses on the importance of local government corruption in areas where human trafficking flourishes. He argues that corruption in the local governments facilitates not only recruitment of people into human trafficking but also accounts for the lack of punishment or accountability of the traffickers. In other words, human trafficking is a low-risk, high-profit endeavor in those areas where local governments permit or even protect traffickers.

People typically are trafficked in three main ways (Bales, 1999): (a) born into slavery; (b) kidnapped, sold, or physically forced; or (c) tricked. In some countries, families may be indentured servants because they were born into it. Families may have been slaves or in debt bondage literally for generations (Skinner, 2008). In some circumstances, children and even adults are actually kidnapped or physically forced into slavery. And in some countries children are sold into slavery by parents or other caregivers. Respondents in the Logan (2007) report emphasized the selling of children into trafficking situations because of the economic situations of the

families, "They live in desperate economic conditions and the victim's family sells them for money or they sell themselves to make money and pay off a debt" (p. 26). Another respondent described the situation as follows:

A trafficker will go to a family and deceive them about what will happen if they take a family member, like a child, to the U.S. They will be told the child will receive an education or that they'll be able to send money back home or that they will have a better future, etc. When the person gets over here they cut off contact so the person is essentially stuck in the situation. (p. 26)

Not only does the family often gain financially from sending their children with the trafficker, but in some cases they may feel this is an opportunity for their children to have a better life than they would have at home (Bales, 1999, 2005).

Being kidnapped, forced, or sold into trafficking has been noted in the media more frequently in other countries. However, the U.S. media has also reported cases of kidnapping and force into trafficking. For example, a September 2007 report by CBS highlighted a case of an American high school girl who was kidnapped by a friend's father and forced into the sex industry (Kennedy, 2007). This report also suggests that runaways are vulnerable to being lured or even sold into trafficking situations as well.

A third route to slavery is being tricked. Even in the face of grueling poverty and destitution there can be hope (Vollman, 2007). It is this hope that can make a person vulnerable. Hope plays into vulnerability in two ways—hope for a better life and a willingness to take what would seem to others to be extreme risks. Logan (2007) found that the majority of survey respondents (96%) believed that poverty was an important vulnerability factor, but responses also reflect some of the complexity that Bales described as noted in the following quotes:

They want to come to America for a better life. Then people use their dreams against them and put them into trafficking.

They are desperate and willing to accept a dangerous opportunity. They just want to better their life so they take chances.

They simply wanted to make a better life for themselves and their families and are willing to work really hard to do so. This work ethic made them easy prey.

Young Americans who are in desperate situations are looking for ways out and can get manipulated into trafficking situations. (p. 24)

Victims often believe they are taking legitimate jobs such as waitressing, childcare, domestic work, or landscaping, but find out when they arrive that they were tricked. Some victims even are induced to sign bogus contracts making the whole experience seem even more legitimate, and sometimes psychologically binding them even more to the trafficker. A large part of being misled has to do with characteristics of traffickers in terms of what they promise people and that people often trust what traffickers say for a variety of reasons (probably including the willingness to take risks for a better life). The following quotes from Logan (2007) exemplified these contexts:

People are defrauded by traffickers; they are offered a job and then the situation changes when they get to the U.S. They are then put in a position that they feel they can not get out of like being sexually assaulted or involved in illegal activities. This sometimes happens through fraud in mail order bride situations.

Sometimes people respond to some sort of ad to work in the U.S. or they are approached by individuals known to family. For example, they are deceived in their home country by trusted people and are either smuggled in or arrive with a visa of some sort. When they get here their situation changes.

They are approached by people in their community who become their friends and who invite them to come along to the U.S. [but who misled them into trafficking situations]. (p. 25)

Logan's (2007) respondents also mentioned two other factors that increase vulnerability to human trafficking: personal characteristics and isolation. Personal characteristics, such as lack of education or lack of knowledge about legal rights or how to get help as well as cultural factors that facilitate trafficking conditions or even acceptance of human trafficking as part of the culture, were mentioned by half of the respondents in the Logan report. Also, being female and/or being young, healthy, and strong were

mentioned in several of the reports as vulnerability factors. Several reports indicated the majority of victims the service representatives worked with were female (73%-90%); however, those same representatives also had worked with male victims (10%-45%; Clawson et al., 2003; Clawson, Dutch, & Cummings, 2006; Logan, 2007; Seitz Steinberg, 2004). Also between one third and one half of the representatives mentioned working with children or young adult victims of human trafficking (Clawson et al., 2003, 2006; Logan, 2007; Seitz Steinberg, 2004). Several participants from the Logan report mentioned either being substance users or making poor choices increased vulnerability to being trafficked.

Isolation was also mentioned as a vulnerability factor (Logan, 2007). This factor may play a role in vulnerability in being recruited into human trafficking and continuing entrapment. In other words, immigrants may be isolated from their family due to separation or estrangement, not speaking the language of the country they are in, having substantial cultural differences that separate them from the community, or being an immigrant or undocumented immigrant (thus were isolated due to their legal status), all work to isolate individuals leaving them vulnerable to a variety of negative situations.

In summary, many people who are poor yet hopeful for a better life are sometimes misled into thinking they are going to work under certain conditions or for a certain amount of pay that does not become the reality. Many of the traffickers are well connected through large or small organized crime rings that include capacity for handling recruitment, transportation, and forced labor work as well as being able to obtain the cooperation of local governments (Bales, 1999, 2005). When immigrants are trafficked, legally or illegally, they are basically denied official status in the United States. If they have passports or visas, these articles are typically confiscated on arrival by the traffickers. Legal visas are allowed to expire and thus, the trafficked person becomes an undocumented worker and may be vulnerable to being deported by Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE; Clawson et al., 2003; Logan,

TABLE 2: What Keeps People Entrapped?^a

	<i>Clawson, Small, Go, Clawson, Dutch, and</i>			
	<i>CACTSTF (2007)</i>	<i>and Myles (2003)</i>	<i>Cummings (2006)</i>	<i>Logan (2007)</i>
	N = 68	N = 98	N = 121	N = 140
Fear				
Fear of retaliation	91%	87%	46%	70%
Fear of deportation	97%	82%	66%	34.3%
Fear of jail/legal problems	—	—	33%	21.4%
Lack of trust in the system/fear of law enforcement	90%	70%	48%	8.6%
General fear	—	31%	—	—
Lack of knowledge about alternatives				
Lack of knowledge about available services/law enforcement role	88%	83%	31%	46.4%
Lack of knowledge about victim rights	85%	52%	14%	—
Not able to identify self as a victim	—	24%	—	9.3%
Don't have any other options	—	—	—	15%
Isolation				
Lack of social support/isolation	77%	78%	—	—
No transportation	—	9%	—	—
Language issues	85%	57%	15%	19.3%
Culturally inappropriate services	—	13%	—	—
Physical confinement				
Held in captivity	68%	16%	—	21.4%
Shame				
Feelings of shame	—	42%	10%	20%

NOTE: See note to Table 1.

a. Reports included in this table gave proportions of respondents who indicated the issue. Reports not included in this table may have mentioned the issue but did not provide percentages.

2007). The lack of legal status and lack of papers to even clarify identity play a large role in entrapment.

What Keeps People Entrapped?

Four main themes about what keeps people entrapped emerged from across the reports: (a) fear, (b) lack of knowledge about alternatives, (c) isolation, and (d) physical and psychological confinement (see Table 2). Fear was the biggest factor mentioned in keeping people entrapped. Of course, fear of physical and sexual violence is not ungrounded given that violence can be both explicit and implicit. Threats to harm family members can also induce fear. But there other fears victims have as well, including fear of deportation, fear of being jailed or having other legal problems (e.g., losing their children, prosecution for criminal activity), and fear of law enforcement or the U.S. government. As mentioned above, in many countries government officials, including police, are corrupt and sometimes in collusion with the traffickers. This

makes the idea of going to the U.S. police appear to be a risky venture for many victims.

A second set of reasons given for what keeps people entrapped was lack of knowledge about alternative options. Specifically, victims may not know about services available to help them, or that they do not believe they have any options other than to stay in the situation. Further, victims often don't know their rights or that what is happening to them is a crime. This lack of information can be worsened by poor language skills that reduce the ability to learn about rights even if they are exposed to any sources of news or information. They also do not know the institutions to turn to for help. Without this basic recognition there would be no impetus for seeking help.

The next most frequently noted set of responses for what keeps people entrapped was isolation. Not only is isolation a vulnerability factor but it is a tactic used by traffickers to control victims. Isolation from the public is accomplished by limiting contact with outsiders and monitoring any potential contact to

ensure it is superficial in nature. Victims are also isolated from family members and other member of their ethnic and religious community. Also, individuals may be isolated through the lack of transportation and language/cultural barriers. By isolating victims, the controller is essentially reducing resistance attempts and increasing the dependence of the victim on the trafficker.

Also, physical and psychological confinement keeps victims entrapped in the situation. For example, one respondent in the Logan (2007) study talked about a case of a woman who “came to the U.S. as a bride, but when they got her he kept her chained in hotel room and used her as a sexual slave” (p. 45). Although physical confinement is an important factor in keeping victims entrapped, most of the stories that have surfaced do not include that kind of physical confinement. The psychological confinement or coercion is a powerful tool in control and entrapment (Kim, 2007). Psychological confinement can be created through control of the victim’s money and control of their passports, visas, or other identifying documents. Psychological confinement can also be created through debt bondage. The use of debt bondage may include the use of bogus contracts, the lack of transparency for how much of the debt diminishing, and exorbitant charges and interest rates making the debt close to impossible to pay off. Another strategy of psychological confinement is the use of drugs or alcohol addiction to keep people entrapped (Logan, 2008; Raphael & Ashley, 2008; Raymond et al., 2002; Zimmerman, 2003; Zimmerman et al., 2006).

Another strategy of psychological confinement is related to psychological degradation and abuse. Threats about shaming victims by exposing their circumstances to their family or to the public (e.g., their cultural group) may be especially powerful in binding the victim to the situation. For example, one respondent in the Logan (2007) study reported a case where a “woman was raped by acquaintance, he used cultural and religious shame tactics and basically black-mailed her into becoming domestic servant and sexual slave” (p. 45). Another study (Raymond et al., 2002) of trafficked women quoted a victim as saying, “They just

broke me down, shattered my will and hopes. I was humiliated” (p. 196).

One recent case of human trafficking provides a good illustration of the tactics used to control victims. In July 2007, a news report was released about criminal charges of human trafficking pending against China Star Acrobats, a Las Vegas company that had a team that traveled and performed at schools across the United States (Packer, Curtis, McCabe, 2007; U.S. Department of Justice, 2007). Investigators found nine individuals, including five minors who were classified as victims of human trafficking. The victims alleged they were not being paid the salary they were promised, their passports and work visas were withheld from them, and they were fearful that their families in China or, they themselves, would be harmed if they attempted to leave. They also alleged their every movement was watched and controlled; they were forced to sleep in crowded bedrooms in a house located in a Las Vegas suburb; received rationed meals of limited quantity; got very little sleep; and when not performing acrobatics, forced to do chores such as cleaning homes, yard work, or renovating homes. One news story interviewed a neighbor who said he believed they had plenty of chances to escape and that, although they didn’t appear to be happy, they weren’t asking for someone to help them either. However, that same neighbor admitted they spoke little English. This case highlights the powerful effect of psychological entrapment—even when they seemingly had the opportunity to escape, they did not. Not until one woman, who served as an interpreter for the group, took a risk and contacted law enforcement did the situation come to light.

It is important to note that, counter to many of the media reports of human trafficking cases, physical violence is only one of many tactics that are used. As indicated in the China Star Acrobat case described earlier, the victims were primarily controlled through psychological means rather than through chains or constant violence. It is much more efficient for the controllers to subordinate people psychologically rather than having to keep them continually chained up or continually using physical violence. Psychological means of entrapping

people gains the trafficker the ultimate compliance; even if given a chance to escape the victim is unlikely to take the risk.

Adaptations to Slavery

When individuals are presented with an aversive situation the instinctive and hard-wired response is to somehow change the situation (Gilbert, 2000). In human trafficking situations, the instincts of flight or fight must be stifled because they are impossible. Gilbert suggests this kind of entrapment is most harmful to health and mental health. However, there are other ways to potentially change the situation to make the circumstances less threatening or aversive. This negotiational stance may lead to human trafficking victims asking for more money, for better living circumstances, or trying to gain favor through other means with the trafficker (Batstone, 2007; Florida State University, 2003). Sometimes asking for changes to the situation are successful as in one case described in the Florida State University report. The women in this case, who were trafficked into commercial sex labor, asked for and received access to Spanish television, radio stations, and magazines. Also, the women on at least one occasion demanded to be taken out to a dance club, and the traffickers complied although the women were closely monitored. These small negotiations may have made the situation more tolerable for the women. On the other hand, trying to directly change the situation may involve increased risks. For example, one woman from the case described above protested when the traffickers insisted she speed up her sex acts with clients so she could service more of them. In response, they locked her in a closet for 15 days, only allowing her out to use the bathroom. In other instances, if the women refused to service a client they were beaten and/or raped by their captors.

As noted above, one of the most frequently noted components of the human trafficking experiences is the high level of fear victims feel in the situation (Bales, 1999; Logan, 2007). As noted above, fear plays a central role in keeping people entrapped in the situation and it is certainly central to the control tactics. Similar to

the kinds of fears that have been documented for prisoners of war, kidnap or torture victims, victims of human trafficking experience multiple sustained fears. The fears victims experience may include fear of intentionally inflicted pain; fear of deformity or permanent injury due to physical assault, neglect, or inadequate medical treatment; fear of violence against loved ones; or the fear of the inability to satisfy the demands of the trafficker as well as the fear that achieving critical goals are or will be blocked (e.g., sending money to starving family members; Farber, Harlow, & West, 1957; Gilbert, 2000; Lazarus, 1999). The fear is complex in that it can be a composite of all these specifics rather than a fear of one event. Fear can impose serious constraints on thinking and decision making and likely plays a significant role in why people do not escape when they seemly have opportunity (Loewenstein, Weber, Hsee, & Welch, 2001; Logan, Walker, Jordan, & Leukefeld, 2006).

Once behavioral submission is adopted, cognitive changes often occur as part of the process. For example, cognitions may become narrowed, distracted, or numbed (Clawson, Dutch, & Williamson, 2008). Narrowed cognitions can occur when individuals are focusing all of their energy on survival and/or threat vigilance (Gross, 1998a, 1998b). A different way to cognitively accommodate threatening or aversive environments is through distraction such as fantasizing or shifting attention away from the threat (Gross, 1998a, 1998b). Still another mechanism is to cognitively reappraise the situation as one that is more easily accepted—a rationalizing process. Gross (1998a) defined reappraisal as an act that “involves cognitively transforming the situation so as to alter its emotional impact” (p. 284). Gross (1998b) found that reappraisal was associated with less negative emotion. This process may include an individual reappraising an aversive situation as not as bad as it could be, minimizing the harm, justification for the situation, social comparisons to others who are worse off, or acceptance of the situation. This process could also include believing that one is performing his or her duty to their family, their contractual obligation or duty to their word, or even one’s destiny as in the case

of some young girls in Thailand who believe that although they were forced into prostitution they remain as a part of their karma or religious duty (Batstone, 2007).

Mental defeat may also result from the circumstances. Mental defeat (Ehlers, Maercker, & Boos, 2000) is defined as "the perceived loss of all autonomy, a state of giving up in one's mind all efforts to retain one's identity as a human being with a will of one's own" (p. 45). Ehlers et al. (2000) found that mental defeat was also associated with total subordination such as feeling merely an object to the other, loss of self-identity, prepared to do whatever the other asked, and not caring if one lives or dies. The feeling of mental defeat was associated with more chronic posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and depression symptoms. It is also important to note that mental defeat was independent of exposure severity and perceived threat to life. These authors speculated that other aspects of traumatic situations such as intentional harm by others, humiliating acts, frequency of uncontrollable maltreatment, and/or prolonged sleep deprivation may influence the probability of experiencing mental defeat. They also speculate that people who experienced mental defeat were those who interpreted the experience as revealing something negative about themselves (e.g., that they were inferior, not worthy, or unable to cope). Some of these negative emotions have been mentioned in studies with victims of human trafficking (Clawson et al., 2008; Zimmerman, 2003; Zimmerman et al., 2006) but more research is clearly needed on how people survive this situation.

In summary, it is generally recognized that congruence between emotions and behaviors is desirable, and when they are found to be inconsistent, cognitive strategies generally try to lull them back into balance. The stresses of the trafficking situation is almost guaranteed to create dissonance between thoughts, feelings, and behavior that can greatly reduce flexible coping and rational decisions that could be expected of people in free conditions. Further, negative emotions and certain adaptation strategies may have significant consequences for health, mental health, and recovery.

What or How Is This Crime Different From Other Crimes?

Two of the reports specifically asked respondents to describe how human trafficking was different from other crimes (Clawson et al., 2003; Logan, 2007). Both surveys asked this particular question in an open-ended format. There were seven main themes that emerged from this question: (a) more difficult to identify, (b) prejudice toward the victims, (c) greater needs, (d) fewer resources and services, (e) greater fear and safety concerns, (f) more limited access to justice, and (g) complex criminal cases.

More difficult to identify. The first issue that was mentioned repeatedly in the Logan (2007) report was the difficulty in identifying victims. Victims may be more difficult to identify for several reasons discussed earlier including the covert nature of the human trafficking activity, language and cultural barriers, lack of victim knowledge about their rights, isolation, and fear.

Prejudice toward victims. Respondents in the Logan (2007) study also cited prejudice against immigrants in general, and toward human trafficking victims in particular, as being a bigger problem with this crime compared to other crimes. The prejudice is primarily communicated through the media. For example, there is some backlash regarding immigration in the United States. One respondent said (Logan, 2007), "They are not just victimized by trafficker, society/community doesn't see them and can't help them," (p. 52) and, "The media gives the message that if you're an immigrant you are probably illegal, you're useless, you have no rights, you just have to face consequences of what happens to you" (p. 33). Another said, "Our society is judgmental towards immigrants" (p. 52). Another respondent summed up this theme, "Public backlash against immigrants is a huge issue because the public mentality is that they are making the human trafficking stories up to get a visa" (p. 52). This theme was also mentioned in the Clawson et al. (2003) report.

Greater needs. Another major theme mentioned in both the Logan and the Clawson et al.

TABLE 3: Victim Needs^a

	<i>Clawson, Small, Go, and Myles (2003)</i>	<i>Clawson, Dutch, and Cummings (2006)</i>	<i>Logan (2007)</i>	<i>Seitz Steinberg (2004)</i>
<i>Victim Needs</i>	N = 98	N = 121	N = 64	N = 15
Basic living needs (food, housing, clothing, transportation, access to public benefits)	—	—	76.7%	—
Housing	98%	65%	69%	40%
Food	95%	26%	20%	—
Transportation	96%	—	5%	33%
Clothing	—	18%	11%	—
Protection/safety	90%	11%	18.8%	—
Victim compensation/money	76%	—	25%	—
Financial needs				
Job training	86%	12%	—	—
Employment	90%	3%	17.2%	33%
Education	89%	6%	—	40%
Child care	65%	9%	—	—
Life skills	88%	10%	—	—
Help to get back home	—	6%	9.4%	—
Medical care				
Medical	98%	39%	—	40%
Dental	80%	12%	—	—
Mental health	95%	23%	40.6%	—
Crisis intervention	88%	3%	—	33%
Self-help groups/group counseling	58%	27%	—	—
Substance abuse treatment	52%	6%	—	—
Access to services/justice				
Interpreter	86%	15%	32.8%	—
Legal	97%	26%	79.7%	—
Court orientation	85%	—	—	—
Advocacy	97%	26%	—	—
Services				
Outreach	96%	9%	—	—
Info/referrals	95%	6%	31.3%	33%
Service coordination/case management	91%	24%	—	33%

NOTE: See note to Table 1.

a. Reports included in this table gave proportions of respondents who indicated the issue. Reports not included in this table may have mentioned the issue but did not provide percentages.

(2003) report was that human trafficking victims have greater needs because they basically walk away from their situation with nothing except for the clothes on their back. Thus, they have no way to feed themselves, nowhere to live, and no transportation. They are isolated leaving them with nobody to turn to except service agencies. They often have language and cultural barriers increasing their needs. They have suffered extreme emotional and physical pain that requires appropriate services to relieve suffering as much as possible (Zimmerman et al., 2008). Basically their whole life has been eviscerated and they need to somehow rebuild their life. The extensive

needs of victims were mentioned in several reports as outlined in Table 3.

Fewer resources and services. Despite the fact that victims of human trafficking have greater needs, there are fewer resources and services for this group than victims of any other crime. Table 4 lists the organizational barriers to serving victims mentioned in five of the reports. The lack of adequate resources, funding, and staffing needed to serve human trafficking victims was frequently mentioned as a barrier to serving victims. In addition, because many service agencies do not understand human trafficking crimes as well as other crimes,

TABLE 4: Organizational Barriers to Serving Victims^a

	CACTSTF (2007)	Clawson, Small, Go, and Myles (2003)	Clawson, Dutch, and Cummings (2006)	Logan (2007)	Seitz Steinberg (2004)
<i>Organizational Barriers</i>	N = 69	N = 98	N = 121	N = 64	N = 63
Lack of adequate resources	57%	78%	38%	42.2%	41%
Lack of adequate funding	62%	72%	—	—	51%
Lack of adequate staff	—	—	—	—	44%
Lack of adequate training	59%	65%	37%	—	34%
Lack of knowledge of victim rights	—	25%	—	—	—
Lack of policies and procedures	—	5%	10%	—	—
Ineffective coordination with federal agencies	—	44%	13%	—	—
Ineffective coordination with local agencies/awareness and education of services for other service providers	—	39%	8%	42.2%	—
Difficulty working with victim service agencies/law enforcement	—	—	18%	25%	—
Lack of formal rules and regulations/TVPA does not help	—	18%	5%	—	—
Language issues	65%	39%	28%	39.1%	22%
Lack of cultural knowledge	—	—	—	—	8%
Safety concerns	49%	38%	—	—	13%
Victim legal status	48%	17%	—	—	—
Feeling of no support and isolation	—	7%	—	—	—
Victim distrust/victim outreach	—	—	45%	—	—
Difficulty identifying victims	—	—	—	—	38%
Awareness and education of the general public				32.8%	

NOTE: TVPA = Trafficking Victims Protection Act; N = Number of participants. Figures from the second column through the last column are percentages of items listed in the first column.

a. Reports included in this table gave proportions of respondents who indicated the issue. Reports not included in this table may have mentioned the issue but did not provide percentages.

services for human trafficking victims are harder to obtain. One respondent from the Logan (2007) report summarized this issue, "There needs to be more education, agencies tend to be reactionary. They don't act until there it is a problem for them" (p. 53). Thus, more training, knowledge, and policies and procedures are needed to effectively serve victims of human trafficking. And the complexity of the cases as well as the overwhelming needs of victims require the service agencies to coordinate with other agencies which can sometimes

be difficult. A number of other issues were mentioned as organizational barriers to serving victims, such as safety concerns or being able to adequately protect victims, and potentially staff; victim's legal status may pose a barrier to providing services and, in general, educating other services and the larger society about human trafficking.

Greater fear and safety concerns. This theme has been mentioned repeatedly throughout the various reports. These victims fear for themselves

in part because they may be facing multiple perpetrators and even a large organized crime ring. These victims may also fear for the safety of their families in countries where it is hard to extend protections from the United States and where governments may not be interested in cooperating for a variety of reasons.

More limited access to justice. Another major theme was that human trafficking victims have more limited access to justice because of their undocumented status. Because the victims have a more limited understanding of the U.S. legal system and their legal rights, and because human trafficking often overlaps with other criminal activity, victims may instead appear as criminals themselves.

Complex criminal cases. Almost a quarter of respondents from the Logan report indicated that human trafficking cases are very complex and the protections are limited, thus, making it a very difficult crime to prosecute and to help victims. More specifically, as provided by Logan (2007), "Human trafficking can operate on a much bigger and more complex scale" and requires "a lot of cooperation between agencies (e.g., Immigration and Customs Enforcement, FBI, social service agencies, lawyers)" (p. 52). It was also mentioned that because many service agencies do not understand human trafficking crimes as well as other crimes, legal services for human trafficking victims are harder to obtain. Other factors that further complicate the issue are, "Human trafficking is organized and controlled by a group for money," "There are often multiple perpetrators involved," and "There are often multiple victims involved." Other legal complications include, "Human trafficking cases have [more complex and time-consuming] government paperwork issues," "may require dealing with multiple countries," "Human trafficking is a hard crime to prove," and all these factors increase "the level of legal services needed" (p. 45). These themes were also mentioned in the Clawson et al. (2003) report. Related to this theme Wilson et al. (2006) found that the crime is so complex it is difficult for legal agencies to coordinate or to

decide who should lead the investigations potentially causing diffusion of responsibility (e.g., federal, state, or local officials). Also, the boundary around terming someone a *defendant*, a *witness*, or a *victim* may be very difficult to identify, thus compounding decisions about what stance to take with prosecutors, police, and even defense attorneys.

How Do Human Trafficking Victims Become Identified?

As mentioned above, identifying human trafficking victims is challenging. Three of the reports discussed ways that victims of human trafficking have been discovered. One way victims of human trafficking are identified is through law enforcement either because they are trained to identify the situation or the situation is identified during the course of an ongoing investigation of other crimes (Clawson et al., 2006; Logan, 2007). Human trafficking victims are also sometimes identified through neighbors, customers, coworkers, or other community members (Clawson et al., 2006; Free the Slaves, 2004; Logan, 2007). This is one reason it is critical that awareness of human trafficking is raised not just among service providers but for every citizen in the United States.

Victims have also been identified because they sought social, medical, or employment dispute services and were subsequently identified as human trafficking victims (Free the Slaves, 2004; Logan, 2007). Although it is rare that victims self-identify themselves as *human trafficking victims* there are "red flags" that can indicate a possible trafficking situation (Florida State University, 2003).

Red flags or indicators that may suggest further inquiry into the situation to determine whether or not it might be a human trafficking case can be divided into three categories: (a) situational indicators, (b) story indicators, and (c) demeanor. Several of the reports mention situational indicators such as the individual living circumstances (Clawson et al., 2006; Logan, 2007). For example, lack of English-speaking persons in an establishment, frequent movement of individuals through an establishment,

many people living together in a private residence, or people living where they work were all mentioned as possible cues for further investigation of the situation.

Listening to an individual's story was also mentioned as important in distinguishing between a bad work situation and one of being trafficked. One report provides a very comprehensive list of possible questions to ask while interviewing someone about their situation to help determine whether or not it is characterized by trafficking (Florida State University, 2003). Although the list is too long to reproduce here, there are several major themes or categories mentioned across several of the reports (Clawson et al., 2006; Florida State University, 2003; Free the Slaves, 2004; Logan, 2007). For example, asking about how someone got to the United States or to the area in which they are currently residing, asking about their migration or immigration status, and who had/has control of their travel arrangements and documents. Also asking questions about their employment situation is central to determining the nature of the situation. This would include questions about their freedom to leave their current employment, what happens if they make a mistake at work, whether they owe their employer money, whether they were misled regarding their current work situation, about how much and how they are paid for their work, what their work hours and conditions are like, whether they are moved around a lot for their job, and if they are forced to have sex as part of their job.

In addition, assessing safety, threats, and physical deprivation and abuse is important. Asking about whether they or their family have been threatened; whether they have been deprived of, or are required to ask permission for, food, water, sleep, medical care, or other life necessities; and whether they had been physically harmed. Asking about social isolation such as restricted movement or communications is also important (e.g., are they free to contact friends or family? Are they free to communicate with those outside of the work situation? Can they buy food and clothing on their own? Are they free to have an intimate relationship? Are they free to bring friends to their home?).

The Campaign to Rescue and Restore Victims of Human Trafficking has a screening tool for victims of human trafficking which includes many of the same themes mentioned above (U.S. Department of Health and Services, 2008).

Finally, an individual's demeanor during the interview may provide some information about their situation as well. For example, if someone seems very nervous or fearful, or if someone answers questions evasively, these may be indicators of a situation that needs further investigation. Also, seeing a person who is never left alone or does not seem to be able to speak for him or herself may be an indication of a trafficking situation (Clawson et al., 2006; Family Violence Prevention Fund, 2005; Logan, 2007).

Recommendations for Future Research and Services

There were four main themes in recommendations (see Table 5) including more resources and enhanced approaches for (a) training, education, and protocols; (b) services and outreach; (c) legal protections; and (d) research. These four are not presented in order of importance as all are critical.

Training, education, and protocols. It is clear that public awareness of human trafficking is very important. The lack of awareness includes victims themselves, health and human service providers, and law enforcement as well as the general public. Human trafficking is a crime that affects individuals, groups of individuals, and the communities in which the crime is occurring. However, neighbors, customers, and citizens may be the ones needed to respond to victims, given the hidden and clandestine nature of the crime, and this may be more effective than placing the entire burden for identifying victims on the police and service agencies. Public awareness campaigns on the rights of victims of trafficking, the laws protecting victims and criminalizing the conduct of traffickers, and services available must be broadcast widely in a variety of languages. Public awareness campaigns should also target members of the community (e.g., neighbors) who may spot a possible trafficking situation.

TABLE 5: Recommendations

Recommendations	CACTSTF (2003)	Clawson, Small, Go, and Myles (2003)	Clawson, Dutch, and Cummings (2006)	Florida State University (2003)	Family Violence Prevention Fund (2005)	Free the Slaves (2004)	Logan (2007)	Seitz Steinberg (2004)	Wilson, Walsh, and Kleuber (2006)
Training, education, and protocols (9)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Training of law enforcement	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x
Training of service providers	x	x	—	x	x	—	x	x	—
Education of the general public	x	—	—	x	x	—	x	x	—
Develop protocols for service providers/law enforcement	x	x	x	x	x	—	x	x	x
Better coordination/collaboration	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Outreach and services (8)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	—
Better outreach and identification	x	x	—	x	x	x	x	x	—
Change negative media depictions of immigrants	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—
More funding to address human trafficking	x	—	—	x	x	—	x	—	—
Fund more services	x	x	—	x	x	x	x	—	—
More housing	x	x	—	x	x	—	—	—	—
Resource manual/referral list	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	x	—
Develop experts database	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Legal protections (5)	x	x	—	x	—	x	x	—	—
Increase access to legal protections	x	x	—	x	—	—	x	—	—
Ensure better protections for workers	x	—	—	x	—	x	—	—	—
Change legislation to better protect immigrants and/or human trafficking victims	x	—	—	—	—	x	x	—	—
Improve victim's understanding of the criminal justice process	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Research (5)	x	x	—	x	x	—	x	—	—
More research/data	x	x	—	x	—	—	x	—	—
Talk to victims to better understand	—	—	—	—	x	—	x	—	—

NOTE: X = was mentioned in the report.

It is also clear that training does have a meaningful impact on raising the awareness of service providers who may encounter victims of trafficking (Logan, 2007). Training should be conducted on the specific needs of trafficking survivors as opposed to other crime victims; the legal process and protections for trafficking victims; methods and means of force, fraud, and coercion as experienced by victims; the profiles of traffickers; strategies for public awareness and outreach; cultural competency; working with interpreters; and successful strategies for collaboration. In particular, a better understanding of the legal protections available to human trafficking victims is critical to increasing victim access to legal protections and to justice.

Further, there is a need to coordinate training across service agencies. Cross trainings, interagency meetings, and identifying a point of contact within each relevant agency can facilitate interagency collaboration (Clawson et al., 2003). Also, establishing interagency protocols to clearly define agency and organization roles to reduce duplication of efforts and to increase opportunities for sharing information may be important. Further efforts and funding should be allocated to building collaborations and strengthening trust among agencies for the most effective delivery of services to trafficking victims as well as effective prosecutions.

Services and outreach. More resources for human trafficking victims are needed for agencies already serving victims of trafficking as well as those that may come into contact with possible victims to address the multiple and pressing needs of the victims to recover from these traumatic experiences. Resources, at a minimum, should include the following: temporary and safe shelter as well as longer-term housing, physical and mental health care, public benefits, legal assistance, drug and alcohol counseling, job training or assistance in obtaining employment, basic English language training, and assistance should the victim chose to relocate or return to home country. Resources should also be provided to facilitate language access at every point of service access for victims. In addition, resources are needed to translate information and agency documents

into a variety of languages as well as for bilingual/bicultural staff for outreach to specific communities. Furthermore, several reports recommended developing resource manuals, referral lists, or a database of experts to facilitate services for human trafficking victims.

The various studies highlighted victims in certain sectors of labor and sex work, but there needs to be more effort to identify victims who may be present in other labor sectors that are even more hidden from public view, including factory and agricultural work. At the same time, there may be labor sectors that are more visible to the public but where victims remain unidentified such as restaurant workers. Thus, outreach services need to expand into less overtly criminal areas to identify trafficked persons. In addition, there is a need to better identify U.S. citizens who fall prey to traffickers.

Results of the Logan (2007) report strongly suggested that the media may have a great influence on human trafficking victims in several ways. Not only are the police depicted negatively in the media, but the backlash against immigrants that is repeatedly shown on news and television may have very negative repercussions for help seeking. It seems that dual messages are being given to immigrants as well as to U.S. citizens. On one hand, there may be media messages that help is out there for human trafficking victims, and on the other hand, they are bombarded with negative messages about immigrants in America. These dual messages need to be addressed and media campaigns targeting human trafficking victims must be developed within the current sociopolitical context portrayed in local and national news as well as through radio and other media entertainment outlets. Further, the stereotypes of human trafficking in general that are depicted in the media need to be addressed as part of awareness and education about human trafficking for every citizen in the United States. Human trafficking situations are often not what is stereotypically shown on television, and unless these stereotypes are broken down, victims will remain unidentified, revictimized, and silenced.

Also, outreach and services must be sensitive to individual victim needs and goals

which may be challenging. A recent report examined reasons human trafficking victims declined or did not use services; although this research was not done in the United States, the themes that emerged may be important for those working with human trafficking victims in the United States to consider (Brunovskis & Surtees, 2007). One of the greatest challenges identified in the report was the communication between the service organization and the victim. Not only were language barriers an issue in terms of victims understanding the full scope of services being offered but often the timing of when services were offered was problematic. In other words, victims were often told about services at the time of identification which can sometimes be a crisis point, which is generally not a good point for decision making. None of the victims they identified said they had received written materials about the services that were being offered. Also, there was an issue with trust and fear. For example, victims were sometimes afraid to believe that they could accept help without owing something back to the agency as the offer sometimes may seem similar to the trafficking process. Other victims were too fearful of their trafficker to use services. Another issue that came up was that sometimes victims were embarrassed, afraid using services would stigmatize them, afraid using services would embarrass their families, or did not want to be labeled as *victims*. The third main issue that was discovered in this report was that victims sometimes did not feel comfortable with the rules and requirements contingent on services which discouraged them from taking advantage of what services had to offer. The other reason is they were not able to take advantage of services due to the hours the services were in operation or due to child care or transportation issues.

Legal protections. Victims, defined so under the U.S. law, have the right not to be held in detention facilities or charged with crimes underlying the trafficking offense and have a right to additional protection and services if they are willing to cooperate with the criminal investigation and prosecution of the trafficker.

However, there is a need for clarification of the stance of the U.S. justice system toward victims of trafficking. Victims may be treated (a) as defendants in the commission of state and/or federal crimes; (b) as witnesses who must be detained due to lack of legal immigration status and risk of flight; (c) as victims who need protective services or, to the confusion of all; (d) as all of the above. Recognition of trafficking victims' essential human rights would advance the nature of legal responses to this crime. Not only are the available legal protections complex and time consuming to pursue, but also the victims often have no money to pay for attorneys and may lack citizenship or clear immigration status. And even if funds were available, there is limited understanding among attorneys about the crime of human trafficking and a shortage of availability among those who are willing and able to take on these cases.

Furthermore, the time it takes to gain protections and for cases to be prosecuted is very long, and victims get frustrated, especially if their basic living needs and other needs are not being addressed. Victims may also feel they are being revictimized in the process, which can also lead to frustration and lack of cooperation over time. In addition, those who advocate for victims need a better understanding of the legal protections for victims so that they can better educate and advocate for the victims they are helping. Several of the reports emphasized that better cooperation and coordination with law enforcement and other legal agencies would be helpful in addressing victim needs as well as victim protections and justice. Stronger legislation to protect victims and to ensure better protections for workers was also mentioned in several reports. Furthermore, strengthening the current laws to better protect human trafficking victims is critical.

More specifically, the benefits provided by the U.S. government to human trafficking victims are conditioned on the willingness and ability of the victim to report the crime to law enforcement and the subsequent agreement of law enforcement to investigate the violation as a human trafficking offense. However, though prosecution is definitely an end goal, restoration of the human rights of all victims should

be the primary goal, and is broader than simply prosecution of the trafficker. Thus, basic human rights and protections should be available to all victims of trafficking, whether or not they are able to cooperate in investigation. Some international experts suggest that states incorporate more of a human rights focus by ensuring that victims of human trafficking are provided benefits during a period of reflection (e.g., 3 months) before they decide whether or not to prosecute. The U.N. Recommended Principles and Guidelines on Human Rights and Human Trafficking (Anti-slavery, 2002) also specified that protection and care should not depend on the victim's cooperation:

States shall ensure that trafficked persons are protected from further exploitation and harm and have access to adequate physical and psychological care. Such protection and care shall not be made conditional on the capacity or willingness of the trafficked person to cooperate in legal proceedings. (p. 3)

However, according to the U.S. law, only those under 18 years of age are deemed to be vulnerable enough to not need to testify or cooperate in the criminal investigation or prosecution.

Also, guidance is needed to better address the kind of legal interventions that are most helpful and restorative to victims. Although the State Department Report (U.S. Department of State, 2006) did include short mention of best practices, such as the goal of using planned versus blind raids to plan for the needs of victims, and the need to interview victims apart from the traffickers, these have not been issued in a more formal protocol, nor have they been made a prerequisite for receiving federal antitrafficking funding. This has resulted in situations where law enforcement conducts a raid without adequate planning for victims, and in the worst situation, where victims are jailed and put in removal proceedings without having meaningful access to services or interviews by social service providers. In essence, the U.S. laws treat trafficking victims less from a preservation of human rights perspective than from a victim/witness perspective. If the victim agrees to be a witness or to aid in investigation, then they enjoy certain protections not unlike what the government can do under a witness protection

plan in prosecuting organized crime. If the victim does not agree to aid investigation, he or she may be denied services and jailed or deported, thereby denying some of the most basic human rights of safety and protection. The U. S. should follow the lead of international law, which emphasizes the "primacy of human rights" by strongly indicating that the victims should be at the center of all efforts "to prevent and combat trafficking and to protect, assist and provide redress to victims" (Anti-slavery, 2002, p. 3).

Research. Ongoing research is needed to enhance understanding of the best ways to identify, serve, protect, and support victims of trafficking as they are seeking justice. Establishing a routine data system to track these cases and information about these cases may be important (CACTSTF, 2007). This may include surveying other parties who may come into contact with a trafficking case, including law enforcement, prosecutors, child protective service workers, labor and employment agencies, as well as the individuals themselves who have been trafficked. Research is also needed to capture the geographic clustering of victims in the United States, to better inform outreach and education strategies. Research should also focus on the particular dynamics of U.S. citizen victims of human trafficking. The research findings must be reported beyond the peer-reviewed journal. Data and findings must be presented in public reports that are shared with the media and with policy makers to bring findings closer to action potential.

Research on human trafficking in the United States is difficult for a variety of reasons as summarized in the following statement (Brennan, 2005):

The first challenge is the diversity of trafficking contexts: Trafficked persons come from a variety of source countries, end up scattered throughout sites in the United States, and are forced into different forms of labour and servitude. They speak different languages, have different socioeconomic backgrounds, varying education and work histories, as well as differences in age, sex, and race/ethnicity. They also have different experiences entering and exiting their trafficked experiences, including experiences of transit. The length of time they were held in servitude varies from weeks to years, and while

some experience psychological coercion others also undergo physical brutality. (p. 38)

Thus, future research will also need to address the challenges inherent in research on human trafficking to be successful. Finally, it is critical that researchers collaborate with service and law enforcement agencies and vice versa.

CONCLUSIONS

The analysis of nine reports examining human trafficking in the United States strongly suggests that human trafficking does exist in the United States across a variety of labor sectors and is extremely beneficial or profitable for traffickers. The reports have also documented a number of vulnerability factors and factors that keep people entrapped in the situation. However, there is much we do not know about human trafficking including the scope and breadth of the crime. Clearly more research is needed to better understand the scope, extent, and characteristics of human trafficking. But above all, there is a need for rethinking the stance of the U.S. justice system with regard to how victims of human trafficking are to be viewed and treated. A recognition of the severity of human rights violations that surround trafficking should make it pointedly clear to the justice system that first and foremost, victims are in need of protections as crime victims, especially during the period when they are contemplating whether or not prosecution is possible. All other justice concerns should be secondary to this first condition.

This is not to say that current U.S. policies and laws are wholly inadequate in aiding victims. However, using a human rights lens may facilitate the goal of ensuring that victims of human trafficking are restored, whether or not prosecution of their traffickers occurs. Such restoration may well deter further trafficking because victims once freed or rescued may not endure the same vulnerabilities and conditions (e.g., poverty, abuse) that led them to become ensnared in a trafficking situation in the first place. However, there is much more to be done to guarantee that laws designed to assist trafficked persons address their fundamental

human rights and do not create a dichotomy between “good” (cooperative) and “bad” (non-cooperative) victims when the human rights violations are the same in both contexts. Doing so will guarantee that we are truly able to reach and assist more individuals harmed by human trafficking. In addition, addressing those profiting from human trafficking with appropriate and swift legal repercussions is critical.

At the same time, identification and services for victims must be a high priority. Not only is awareness and training important but more resources for service agencies are critical. Human trafficking cases are complex and time consuming and although services clearly have an important role in helping victims of this crime, their budgets are often stretched to the limit in serving the clients and cases they already have. Furthermore, these cases are so complex that the coordination between services, cross training, and openness to partnering with other agencies must be incorporated into the response to the needs of these victims. Clearly communities need lead organizers to take initiative and to invite the participating agencies to the table, but agencies must also be willing to be at the table and, if not initially invited, they must be willing to initiate their involvement.

Fundamentally, human trafficking is a deprivation of the most basic entitlements and human rights, and this absence of entitlements and rights limits the ability to achieve a meaningful life. In the case of an undocumented immigrant human trafficking victim, the individual is deprived of not only citizenship but also deprived of a life with choices such as being able to quit his or her job and whether or not to marry, to have children, to worship, to go to the store, or to socialize. These individuals are also deprived of the recognition of his or her labor as legitimate and worthy of adequate reward such as fair pay. More drastically, individuals in these situations are often deprived of basic living needs such as adequate food, access to health care, and safety. Rights are not equally applied to every individual in the United States or across the world; however, basic human rights are considered fundamental to a civilized society. Human trafficking victims cease to be individual agents and instead

become pawns for the benefit of others. Bales (2000) summarized human trafficking, "It is not just stealing someone's labor, it is the theft of an entire life" (p. 7).

CRITICAL FINDINGS SUMMARY

- Human trafficking, at its most basic level, is defined by the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000 as (a) the recruitment, harboring, transporting, supplying, or obtaining a person for labor or services through the use of force, fraud, or coercion for the purpose of involuntary servitude or slavery; or (b) sex trafficking in which a commercial sex act is induced by force, fraud, or coercion, or in which the person induced to perform sex acts is under 18 years of age.
- A review of nine reports on human trafficking in the United States suggests that human trafficking does exist in the United States.
- Human trafficking in the United States cuts across a variety of labor sectors including commercial sex work, domestic, personal service, factory, restaurant, farm, and agricultural labor. However, there may be other labor sectors that have not been identified, which calls for more investigation or research.
- Factors that affect vulnerability to trafficking includes poverty, immigrant status, hope for a better life, being female, being young, and being isolated.
- Factors that influence continued entrapment include fear, lack of knowledge about alternatives, isolation, and physical and psychological confinement.
- Adaptations to human trafficking involve behavioral and cognitive strategies, and both the circumstances and the coping strategies used for survival may affect short-term as well as long-term health and mental health conditions.
- There were several themes identified as distinguishing human trafficking from other crimes including the following: (a) It is more difficult to identify, (b) prejudice toward the victims, (c) victims have greater needs, (d) fewer resources and services to address this crime, (e) greater fear and safety concerns for victims and their families, (f) more limited access to justice for victims, and (g) human trafficking are very complex criminal cases.
- Identifying human trafficking victims is challenging. Some victims were identified during the course of a criminal investigation. Other victims sought social, medical, or employment dispute services and were subsequently identified as human trafficking victims. Although it is rare that victims self-identify as human trafficking victims, there are red flags that can indicate a possible trafficking situation. These red flags include looking at a person's situation and listening to their story. The Campaign to Rescue and Restore Victims of Human Trafficking has a screening tool to use with victims of human trafficking.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE REVIEW SUMMARY

- Fundamentally, human trafficking is a deprivation of the most basic entitlements and human rights, and this absence of entitlements and rights limits the ability to achieve a meaningful life.
- In the case of an undocumented immigrant human trafficking victim, the individual is deprived of not only citizenship, but also deprived of a life with choices such as being able to quit his or her job, and whether or not to marry, to have children, to worship, or go to the store, or to socialize. These individuals are also deprived of the recognition of his or her labor as legitimate and worthy of adequate reward such as fair pay. More drastically, individuals in these situations are often deprived of basic living needs such as adequate food, access to health care, and safety.
- Rights are not equally applied to every individual in the United States or across the world; however, basic human rights are considered fundamental to a civilized society. Human trafficking victims cease to be individual agents and instead become pawns for the benefit of others. Bales (2000) summarized human trafficking, "It is not just stealing someone's labor, it is the theft of an entire life" (p. 7).
- Human trafficking is a crime that affects individuals, groups of individuals, and the communities in which the crime is occurring. Thus, awareness for every citizen in the United States is important.
- Human trafficking is a hidden crime and most victims choose to not self-identify. It is critical that service providers and law enforcement be aware of red flags and to screen potential cases to determine whether it might be a case of trafficking.
- Given the substantial needs of victims, ongoing awareness and training of service providers and protocols for coordinating within and across agencies is recommended.
- To effectively address the level of outreach to better identify victims of human trafficking and to serve their vast needs more resources for services is critical. Resources, at a minimum, should include language-access services, temporary and safe shelter as well as longer-term housing, physical and mental health care, public benefits, legal assistance, drug and alcohol counseling, job training or assistance in obtaining employment, basic English language training, and assistance should the victim chose to relocate or return to home country.
- There is a need for better clarification of the U.S. justice system toward victims of trafficking to ensure their safety and other needs are central rather than conditional.
- Ongoing research on human trafficking in the United States is challenging but necessary to further our understanding of the dynamics of human trafficking, how to better reach out to victims, and how to help victims with recovery and restoration of rights.

NOTE

1. Article 3 of the United Nations Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children (Protocol) provides the definition of trafficking in persons:

(a) "Trafficking in persons" shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labor or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs; (b) The consent of a victim of trafficking in persons to the intended exploitation set forth in subparagraph (a) of this article shall be irrelevant where any of the means set forth in subparagraph (a) has been used.

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- T. K. Logan, PhD, is currently a professor in the Department of Behavioral Science, College of Medicine. She has spent the past 13 years examining researching issues relevant to violence against women. Currently she is focusing on several projects including costs and avoided costs to society related to partner violence and protective orders: whether partner stalking is just "business as usual" or a unique form of psychological dominance, how to define sexual assault within the context of a violent relationship, and health disparities of rural women with partner violence experiences. She also recently completed a study of human trafficking in Kentucky and is working on understanding the dynamics of human trafficking especially with regard to survival and coping. She is an author on approximately 100 research articles and serves on the editorial board of the *Journal of Interpersonal Violence and Violence and Victims* and is a consulting editor for *Psychology of Women Quarterly*. She serves as a grant reviewer for the National Institute of Drug Abuse, National Institute of Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism, and other special emphasis panels for the National Institute of Health. She also serves on the Domestic Violence Prevention Board, Partner Abuse Committee, Lexington-Fayette Partner Violence Fatality Review, Advisory Board of the Supervised Visitation Center, and works on a grant obtained by the Fayette Urban County Police Department for addressing enforcement of protective orders and partner stalking. She also works closely with several other state and community agencies to address violence against women. She has coauthored five books, including the following: *Women and Victimization: Contributing Factors, Interventions, and Implications* (American Psychological Association) and *Partner Stalking: How Women Respond, Cope, and Survive* (Springer). She is currently working on a book developing a theory to better understand violence against women.
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Gretchen Hunt, JD, is a staff attorney with the Division of Violence Prevention Resources in Frankfort, Kentucky, where she provides technical assistance, training, referrals, and project development on issues of violence against women. Her area of expertise is on issues impacting immigrant victims of domestic violence, rape, and human trafficking, including language access, immigration protections, and successful collaborations with law enforcement. She initiated the first human trafficking task

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